

Message Text

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ACTION AF-04

INFO OCT-01 EUR-10 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-03 H-01

INR-10 L-02 NSAE-00 NSC-07 PA-01 RSC-01 PRS-01 SP-02

SS-14 USIA-04 OMB-01 AID-05 IO-03 DRC-01 /071 W

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R 091520Z OCT 74

FM AMEMBASSY LUSAKA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 788

INFO AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM

AMEMBASSY KINSHASA

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMCONSUL LUANDA

AMEMBASSY PARIS

C O N F I D E N T I A L LUSAKA 2087

EO 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, ZA, CO

SUBJECT: MPLA UNITY TALKS IN LUSAKA

REF: KINSHASA 8517

1. DURING HOUR LONG CONVERSATION WITH ZAIRE AMBASSADOR
NYARENDE, HE REVIEWED LONDON, SORRY HISTORY OF FAILURE
SO FAR (NOTWITHSTANDING PERSONAL EFFORTS THREE
PRESIDENTS MOBUTU, KAUNDA, AND NYERERE) TO IMPLEMENT KINSHASA
AGREEMENT OF DECEMBER 13, 1972, SEEKING UNITY OF MPLA.
SITUATION COMPLICATED IN INTERIM WIT THREE WAY
SPLIT OF TWO ORIGINAL FACTIONS. FELT WHOLE PROBLEM
DISUNITY WITHIN MPLA AND BETWEEN CONTENDING ANGOLAN
MOVEMENTS TRACEABLE TO NETO'S CHARGE THAT UNITY NOT
POSSIBLE BECAUSE HOLDEN ROBERTO IS AGENT OF
IMPERIALISTS AND WEST. THIS FOLLOWED BY COUNTER-
CHARGE THAT NETO AGENT OF SOVIETS. NYARENDE
CONVINCED THAT SOVIETS HAVE INDEED BEEN CALLING
NETO'S SHOTS AND BOLSTERING HIS EGO WHICH
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HAS LED TO HIS DICTATORIAL AND LONE WOLF BEHAVIOR

OVER PAST TWO YEARS.

2. SAID UNITY ISSUE NOW IN FINAL STAGES AND SHOWDOWN SCHEDULED FOR THIRD MEETING OF THREE MPLA FACTIONS OCTOBER 14 IN LUSAKA. PRESENT SERIES OF UNITY MEETINGS COMMENCED OCT 5 AT STATE HOUSE AND PRESIDED OVER BY PRESIDENT SAMORA MACHEL OF MOZAMBIQUE, ACTING FOR PRESIDENT KAUNDA WHO HAS ESCHEWED ALL DIRECT CONTACT WITH NETO FOLLOWING HIS SHABBY TREATMENT OF ZAMBIAN CHIEF OF STATE DURING PREPARATION FOR MPLA CONGRESS IN LUSAKA IN AUGUST. MACHEL MADE LONG IMPASSIONED PLEA AT MEETING TO FORGET PAST AND GET ON WITH NEGOTIATIONS WITH PORTUGUESE. MACHEL THEN RETURNED TO DAR ES SALAAM TO LET THREE MPLA FACTIONS HAMMER OUT THEIR DIFFERENCES. PINTO ANDRADE, LEADER OF BRAZZAVILLE INTELLECTUAL FACTION, WHO ILL, REPRESENTED BY GENTIL VIANA. DANIEL CHIPENDA OF EASTERN REVOLT REPRESENTED BY ASSAVEDA (PHONETIC). FIRST WEEK MEETINGS LARGELY CONCERNED WITH EXAMINATION AND ACCEPTANCE OF LETTERS OF CREDENCE OF FACTION SURROGATES. NETO ONLY FACTION HEAD PRESENT.

3. ZAIRE AMBASSADOR SAID PAST WEEK SPENT MAINLY IN PRIVATE DISCUSSIONS AND MAPPING OUT STRATEGY FOR THIRD DECISIVE MEETING TO WHICH ANDRADE AND CHIPENDA WILL COME TO CONFRONT NETO. WHILE SITUATION DESCRIBED AS "VERY, VERY COMPLEX AND VERY, VERY DIFFICULT OF RESOLUTION," TACTICS OF ANDRADE AND CHIPENDA WILL PROBABLY BE TO OPENLY DENOUNCE NETO FOR HIS DISRUPTIVE INFILTRATION AND INCAPACITY AS LEADER WHO FAILED TO HARMONIZE DIFFERENCES. NYARENDE PREDICTED ANDRADE AND CHIPENDA WILL BE "VERY TOUGH" IN DELIVERING ULTIMATUM TO NETO, INSISTING HE GIVE AN ACCOUNT OF HIS STEWARDSHIP AS MPLA LEADER OVER PAST THREE YEARS, INCLUDING ACCOUNT FOR DISBURSEMENTS FROM PARTY FUNDS OF 10,000 POUNDS STERLING FROM OAU. PREARRANGED SCENARIO SEEMS TO COUNT ON NETO'S INABILITY TO GIVE SATISFACTORY ACCOUNT OF RESPONSIBLE STEWARDSHIP. NETO WILL PROBABLY NOT BE THROWN OUT OF PARTY BUT WILL

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BE TOLD PROBLEM OF HIS LEADERSHIP WILL BE "PUT ASIDE" IN FAVOR OF DEALING WITH MORE URGENT MPLA BUSINESS WHICH IS UNITY OF THREE FACTIONS, COUPLING WITH OTHER ANGOLAN LIBERATION MOVEMENTS, AND EARLY NEGOTIATION WITH PORTUGUESE. DURING SHOWDOWN MEETING EACH OF MPLA'S FACTIONS WILL CONFIRM NOMINATION OF THREE MEMBERS FOR MPLA POLITICAL BUREAU OF NINE. THEY WILL THEN

TRY TO NEGOTIATE WITH FNLA AND UNITA FOR COMPARABLE REPRESENTATION FROM THESE MOVEMENTS FOR APPROXIMATE TOTAL 15-MAN ANGOLAN NEGOTIATING TEAM TO FACE PORTUGUESE. THIS "RESTRICTED COMMITTEE" WOULD THEN PRESENT TO PORTUGUESE AGREED POLITICAL PLATFORM

FOR TRANSITION TO ANGOLAN INDEPENDENCE. NYARENDE SAID RESTRICTED COMMITTEE FOR ANGOLAN LIBERATION WOULD NOT GO HAT IN HAND BEGGING PORTUGUESE TO NEGOTIATE, BUT WOULD IMPOSE ("IMP FER") THEIR NEGOTIATIV DEMANDS ON PORTUGUESE.

4. WHAT WAS ZAIROIS ESTIMATE REGARDING RECENT CHANGE IN PORTUGUESE GOVERNMENT? DOES IT ALTER OUTLOOK AND PROSPECTS FOR NEGOTIATIONS? NYARENDE DID NOT FEEL THAT POLITICAL AND SOCIAL CHANGES OCCURING IN PORTUGAL WOULD ALTER PROSPECTS FOR ANGOLAN INDEPENDENCE IN ANY WAY. HE DID RECONGIZE THAT PORTUGUESE ECONOMIC SITUATION IMPORTANT IF FREE ANGOLA IS TO RETAIN ITS TRADE, EGINOMIC AND FINANCIAL LINKS WITH METROPOLE AND WEST (WHICH HE FELT IT SHOULD).

5. HAVE TENTATIVE APPOINTMENTS WITH NYARENDE FOR TUESDAY, OCTOBER 15, TO REVIEW RESULTS OF NETO-CHIPENDA-ANDRADE UNITY MEETING. WRWILKOWSKI

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: ALLIANCE, LIBERATION FRONTS, DIPLOMATIC DISCUSSIONS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 09 OCT 1974
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: elyme
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1974LUSAKA02087
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D740288-0009
From: LUSAKA
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1974/newtext/t19741060/aaaabzis.tel
Line Count: 140
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION AF
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 3
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: KINSHASA 8517
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: elyme
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 29 APR 2002
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <29 APR 2002 by boyleja>; APPROVED <12 MAR 2003 by elyme>
Review Markings:

Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
30 JUN 2005

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: MPLA UNITY TALKS IN LUSAKA
TAGS: PFOR, ZA, AO, CG, MPLA, (NETO, AGOSTINHO), (HOLDEN ROBERTO), (NYARENDE)
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005